

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 02984 01 OF 02 300255Z

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ACTION SS-30

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2984

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12/31/82

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: MAY 29 NAC/ COMMENTARY ON NATO DECLARATION

PARIS PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

REF: A. USNATO 2950 B. USNATO 2953

SUMMARY: IN NAC, MAY 29, PERMREPS UNDERTOOK EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF
DRAFT ATLANTIC DECLARATION PRODUCED BY MAY 27-28 SPC SESSIONS.
DISCUSSION INDICATED AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT ON PARAGRAPH
7,10, 13 AND 14 AND POSSIBLE OUTLINES OF AGREEMENT ON OTHER
PARAS. OUTSTANDING ISSUES HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO SPC FOR FURTHER
REFINEMENT PRIOR TO NEXT NAC REVIEW TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY,
MAY 31. END SUMMARY.

1. LUNS OPENED MAY 29 NAC DISCUSSION WITH PLEA FOR FAST COMPLETION
OF WORK IF DECLARATION IS TO BE READY BY THE TIME OF THE OTTAWA
MINISTERIAL.

2. BECAUSE OF LATE SPC MEETING YESTERDAY, MANY
PERMREPS WERE WITHOUT NEW INSTRUCTIONS AND THIS LED TO
SOME REPETITION OF POSITIONS REPORTED REF B AND PREVIOUSLY.
DISCUSSION PRODUCED SOME INTERESTING REFINEMENTS, HOWEVER, AND POINTED

WAY TO POSSIBLE COMPROMISES ON REMAINING LANGUAGE AT ISSUE. PARAG-
RAPHS, KEYED TO THOSE IN TEXT TRANSMITTED REF A, WERE DISCUSSED AS
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02984 01 OF 02 300255Z

FOLLOWS:

-- PARAGRAPH ONE

DUTCH FELT LAST SENTENCE WAS UNCLEAR AND THAT CONTENTS OF ALLIES' "HERITAGE" SHOULD BE SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL. THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED

BY MAKING CURRENT PARA 12 NEW PARA TWO, WHICH WOULD IN TURN REQUIRE ENDING SENTENCE ONE AFTER "UNITY." NORWEGIANS, PREVIOUS SUPPORTERS OF MOVING FORWARD PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH ALLIANCE HERITAGE AND VALUES, SAID THEY NOW FELT THIS MOVE "LESS URGENT." LUNS SUGGESTED LEAVING PARAGRAPHS ONE AND TWELVE WHERE AND THE WAY THEY ARE. DUTCH REP (HARTOGH) SAID IN THAT CASE HE WOULD HAVE TO REQUEST BRACKETS ON LAST SENTENCE PENDING DECISION ON POSSIBLE MOVEMENT OF PARA 12.

-- PARAGRAPH TWO

DE ROSE (FRANCE) REHEARSED STANDARD ARGUMENTS FOR FRENCH LANGUAGE ON DEFENSE-DETENTE BALANCE AND ALLIANCE AS INSTRUMENT THEREFORE. IN ONLY NEW ARGUMENT, DE ROSE SUGGESTED THAT IF NATO WERE CONSIDERED AN "INSTRUMENT" FOR DETENTE, THEN FIRST 15 YEARS OF ALLIANCE WERE WASTED WHEN NATO'S PRIMARY, IF NOT SINGLE, ROLE WAS COLLECTIVE SECURITY. OTHER ALLIES, WHILE WILLING TO CONSIDER DROPPING "INSTRUMENT" LANGUAGE, RESISTED CHANGE IN EQUAL FOOTING GIVEN DEFENSE AND DETENTE IN HARMEL REPORT. FRENCH DEL SAID IT WOULD BE WILLING TO PROPOSE COMPROMISE FIRST SENTENCE TO PARIS TO READ "BY ENSURING THE COLLECTIVE

DEFENSE OF ITS MEMBERS, THE ALLIANCE HAS MADE POSSIBLE THE PURSUIT OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE." SECOND SENTENCE WOULD THEN BEGIN "THESE MEMBERS WELCOME...." FOLLOWING LUXEMBOURG PERMREP'S (FISCHBACH) SUGGESTION, FRENCH PROPOSAL WAS FURTHER MODIFIED - TO CAST IT MORE TO FUTURE THAN TO PAST - TO READ: "MAKES POSSIBLE" VICE "HAD MADE POSSIBLE." PERMREPS THEN AGREED TO REFER TO SPC IN BRACKETS BOTH FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCES IN CURRENT SPC TEXT (REF A) AND MODIFIED FRENCH VERSION ABOVE. RUMSFELD (US) SUGGESTED THAT SPC CONSIDER ALTERING "POLICY OF DETENTE" FORMULATION IN FRENCH PROPOSAL SINCE DETENTE WAS NOT REALLY A "POLICY" AS SUCH. PERMREPS ALSO AGREED TO DELETE WORD "SECURITY", THUS REMOVING OTHER BRACKET IN PARA 2.

-- PARAGRAPH THREE

SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02984 01 OF 02 300255Z

PERMREPS MAKE EARLIER ARGUMENTS ON "DOMINATION OF THE WORLD" LANGUAGE IN THE LAST SENTENCE WITH THE BRITISH CALLING THIS FORMULATION

TOO "APOCALYPTIC" AND THE FRENCH FEELING IT IMPORTANT TO TELL PUBLIC OPINION JUST WHAT REALLY WOULD BE AT SATKE WERE ONE OF ALLIES TO LOSE ITS INDEPENDENCE. TURKS BELIEVED LOSS OF "INDEPENDENCE" DID NOT GO FAR ENOUGH SINCE SOMETHING LESS THAN LOSS OF FULL INDEPENDENCE (I.E. SEIZURE OF THE STRAITS) COULD POSE GREAT RISK WITHOUT LOSS OF OVERALL INDEPENDENCE. TURKS THUS PROPOSED AIM WAS TO "PREVENT OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT THAT COULD ENDANGER WORLD PEACE". NETHERLANDS AGREED WITH TURKS AND ADDED THAT LANGUAGE IN BOTH CURRENT, BRACKETED FORMULATIONS SEEMED TO QUALIFY THE STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT CONFLICTS INVOLVING ALLIES, BUT

RISKING LESS THAN "DOMINATION OF THE WORLD" OR THE "BALANCE OF POWER,"

MIGHT NOT BE SUBJECTS FOR COLLECTIVE ALLIANCE ACTION. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE), AGREED WITH FRENCH THAT ALLIANCE AIM MUST BE STRESSED EARLY IN THE DECLARATION AND SUGGESTED THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION: "... AIM TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF CONFLICT IN WHICH THE STAKE THROUGH AGGRESSION WOULD BE THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD". UK CHARGE (LOGAN) PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE TO MEET ABOVE CONCERNS WHICH COUNCIL ACCEPTED FOR REFINEMENT IN SPC AND REFERENCE TO CAPITALS. UK FORMULATION WOULD READ: "THE COMMON AIM IS TO AVOID CONFLICT SINCE THIS COULD LEAD TO THE LOSS OF A MEMBER NATIONS'S INDEPENDENCE."

-- PARAGRAPH FOUR

DISCUSSION OF "VULNERABILITY" CONCEPT FEATURED KNOWN ARGUMENTS FROM FRENCH WHO SUGGESTED THAT DELETION OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE WOULD ALSO FORCE CHANGE IN SUBSEQUENT LANGUAGE IN PARAGRAPH BECAUSE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE WOULD THEN BE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH. BRITISH COULD ACCEPT FRENCH ARGUMENT BUT FELT THE POINT MADE JUST AS WELL WITHOUT THE BRACKETED LANGUAGE. NORWEGIANS AND DUTCH AGREED. TURKS AGREED WITH DE ROSE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ISSUE, REGARDLESS OF ITS EXACT DESCRIPTION, WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT.

DE STAERCKE NOTED THAT DRAFT, AS CURRENTLY WORDED, MIGHT SUGGEST TO PUBLIC OPINION THAT ONLY A FEW COUNTRIES WERE VULNERABLE AND THAT OTHERS WERE DEFENDING THEM ONLY OUT OF GENEROSITY. DE ROSE

SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 02984 01 OF 02 300255Z

RESPONDED IT HAD NEVER BEEN FRANCE'S INTENTION TO SAY THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT VULNERABLE BUT ONLY THAT EUROPE WAS EXPOSED TO OTHER KINDS OF CONFLICT THAN THOSE TO WHICH THE U.S. WAS VULNERABLE. DE STAERCKE SAID DECLARATION SHOULD PREFERABLY INDICATE THAT EVERYONE IS VULNERABLE, ALTHOUGH, PERHAPS BY VARYING DEGREES. IT WAS DECIDED TO REFER PARAGRAPH TO SPC FOR FURTHER REFINEMENT.

-- PARAGRAPH FIVE

GERMAN CHARGE (BOSS) SAID THAT LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY CANADA FOR SENTENCE TWO (FOOTNOTE TO PARA 5, REFTEL A) WAS TOO WEEK. FRG CAN ACCEPT EITHER OF BRACKETED VERSIONS OR A STRENGTHENED CANADIAN TEXT.

OTHERS ARGUED FOR DELETION OF ANY ADJECTIVE QUALIFYING "ALTERNATIVE". NETHERLANDS AND TURKEY PREFERRED FORMULATION STATING THAT SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE "REMAINS INDISPENSABLE", AS A MEANS TO STRENGTHEN THE CANADIAN TEXT. WITH REGARD TO TWO BRACKETED SENTENCES IN TEXT, SOME FAVORED RETENTION OF THE FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCE BUT WERE RELUCTANT TO MENTION ANY ONE COUNTRY IN SECOND SENTENCE SINCE THIS MIGHT INDICATE FORMAL ALLIANCE ENDORSEMENT OF "BILATERALISM" IN ACTIONS AFFECTING AREAS OUTSIDE THE TREATY.

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 02984 02 OF 02 300312Z

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2984

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-- PARAGRAPH SIX

DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 6 FEATURED POINTS RAISED BY
DUTCH PREVIOUSLY AND IN MAY 27-28 SPC DISCUSSIONS.
NORWEGIAN WAS ONLY AVOwed DUTCH ALLY WHILE OTHERS URGED THAT
COMPROMISE BE WORKED OUT BY DUTCH, FRENCH, AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS
BEHIND THE SCENES. DE STAERCKE POINTED OUT THAT IN LAST SENTENCE
THE WORD "EFFORTS" SHOULD BE REPLACE BY "CONTRIBUTION"; AND
IT WAS AGREED AD REFERENDUM THIS WOULD BE CHANGED. IN
ADDITION TO POSSIBLE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE TO BE WORKED OUT BY
INTERESTED PARTIES, PANSA SUGGESTED THAT SPC ALSO REVIEW POSSIBLE
NUANCES IN UES OF WORD "DETERRENT" AND "DETERRING" IN PARAGRAPH 6
SENTENCE 2.

-- PARAGRAPH SEVEN

RUMSFELD NOTED US VERSION WHICH WAS DROPPED FROM LAST CLAUSE WHICH
COUNCIL AGREED WOULD BE RESTORED TO READ "AND STATES ITS RESOLVE,
TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES..."

--PARAGRAPH EIGHT

FRENCH INTRODUCED COMPROMISE TEXT CHANGING ALL BUT FIRST
SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH WITH LATTER SUBJECT OF CHANGE SUBMITTED BY
UK DEL. PARAGRAPH WOULD THUS READ "AS THE REAL PURPOSE OF ANY
DEFENSE POLICY IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY THAT THE OB-

SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 02984 02 OF 02 300312Z

JECTIVE HE SEEKS CANNOT BE ATTAINED BY STARTING A CONFLICT, ALL
THEIR FORCES WOULD, IF NECESSARY, BE USED IN ANY CONFLICT THAT
DID START. THEREFORE, WHILE REAFFIRMING THAT MAJOR AIM
OF THEIR POLICIES IS TO SEEK AGREEMENTS THAT WILL REDUCE THE RISK

OF WAR, NO SUCH AGREEMENTS SHOULD LIMIT THEIR FREEDOM TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH ALL WEAPONS AT THEIR DISPOSAL, SINCE THEIR DETERMINATION TO DO SO CONTINUES TO BE THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS WILL BE PREVENTED." DUTCH PERMREP SUGGESTED THAT UK AND FRENCH REVISIONS TIPPED SENTENCE IN FAVOR OF MASSIVE RETALIATION RATHER THAN FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AS ALLIED COUNTER TO AGGRESSION. IT WAS AGREED THAT PARAGRAPH 8 AND SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO CAPITALS AND REVIEWED BY SPC.

--PARAGRAPH NINE

DANISH PERMREP (SVART) SUPPORTED CHANGE IN CONTESTED LAST SENTENCE TO READ "IT IS ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT THE GROWING UNITY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD HAVE, IN DUE COURSE, BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER NATIONS WHICH ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE." DANISH THUS SUPPORTED ATTEMPT TO REDO SENTENCE SHORTER AND MORE LOGICAL. THIS REFLECTED FACT THAT DANES DID NOT SEE HOW THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY COULD HAVE THE ROLE PRESCRIBED FOR IT IN THE FRENCH VERSION. UK SUGGESTION THAT "GROWING EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION" BE SUBSTITUTED FOR "GROWING UNITY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY" OPENED ENERGETIC DEBATE WITH DE STAERCKE CHALLENGING THOUGHT, WHICH HE CONSIDERED IMPOLITIC IN BRITISH FORMULATION, THAT GROWING EUROPEAN UNITY WAS SOMEHOW AT ODDS WITH A EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFENSE OF THE FIFTEEN. DE STAERCKE RECOGNIZED CALLAGHAN'S ATLANTIC POLICY BUT SAID IT SHOULD NOT BE PREDICATED ON A VIEW THAT THE GROWING UNITY OF THE NINE WAS IN ANY WAY INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE ATLANTIC COMMITMENTS OF THE EUROPEANS. DE STRAERCKE REFERRED TO THE

PARIS EC SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE WHICH PROJECTED EUROPEAN UNITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EUROPE'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS. DE STAERCKE NOTED THAT FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS IN EC-9/NATO RELATIONS WERE INVOLVED IN THE "PHILOSOPHICAL" SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 02984 02 OF 02 300312Z

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UK AND BELGIAN VIEWS AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS MATTER SHOULD BE SOLVED AMONG THE NINE AFTER REFERENCE TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS. LOGAN REPEATED THAT HMG'S PROBLEM WAS IN DISCUSSING FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NINE IN A DOCUMENT OF THE FIFTEEN. THE UK DID NOT WANT TO REFER TO THE EUROGROUP PER SE BUT PREFERRED A REFERENCE TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION TO ONE ON "GROWING EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY." DANES THOUGHT PROBLEM MIGHT BE SOLVED BY REFERRING TO "EUROPEAN UNION" WITHOUT REFERENCE TO POLITICAL UNITY OR EC AS SUCH.

--PARAGRAPH TEN

PERMREPS SECONDED SPC'S AGREEMENT ON PARAGRAPH 10 AS IS.

--PARAGRPH ELEVEN

DE STAERCKE SAID HE AGREED WITH UK TEXT BUT HAD REORDERED ITS SENTENCES TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

"THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST. THESE ARE AS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AS FOR DEFENSE, WHICH ARE, THEY REPEAT, COMPLEMENTARY. THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS. THEY WISH ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS SUPPORTED BY HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS." (LAST TWO SENTENCES WOULD REMAIN AS REPORTED REF A). HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) THOUGHT BELGIAN PROPOSAL DESERVED STUDY AND DE ROSE SUGGESTED THAT HE WAS WILLING TO PUT IT TO PARIS. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT "IN APPROPRIATE BODIES" BE INSERTED AFTER "MEANS OF CONSULTATION" IN ORDER NOT TO GIVE THE COUNCIL "MISSIONS AND ROLES" THAT IT DID NOT HAVE BEFORE. RUMSFELD (US) NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH TO THE U.S. WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED LANGUAGE WHICH IT BELIEVED ACCURATELY REFLECTED THE ALLIANCE'S RELATIONSHIP. AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION, THE U.S. HAD AGREED TO ACCEPT THE U.K. FORMULA IN A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE ALTHOUGH WE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT IT HAD GONE FAR ENOUGH. THE U.S. COULD OF COURSE NOT ACCEPT THE ITALIAN PROPOSAL.

SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 02984 02 OF 02 300312Z

-- PARAGRAPH TWELVE

WITH REGARD TO DANISH-SUGGESTED FIRST SENTENCE (FOOTNOTE TO PARA 12, REF A) SUBMITTED TO SPC, HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) SUGGESTED SENTENCE TO BE AMENDED BY REPLACING "WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS" BY "INTEND". DE ROSE (FRANCE) SUGGESTED NO FORMULA WOULD BE BETTER THAN ONE GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT GOVERNMENTS GRANTED THINGS TO THEIR PEOPLE. RUMSFELD NOTED THAT DANISH PROPOSAL DID "TURN THINGS AROUND". IN HIS VIEW ON PERSONAL BASIS, THINGS WHICH GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO GIVE COME FROM THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES AND NOT FROM THE GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO GRANT SUCH THINGS TO THEIR PEOPLES. DISCUSSION OF LAST BRACKETED SENTENCES IN PARAGRAPH 12 WAS ALONG FAMILIAR LINES AND IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE SPC FIND LANGUAGE THAT WOULD RECOGNIZE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NATO MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO ASSIST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

-- PARAGRAPH THIRTEEN

PARAGRAPH 13 REMAINED AS AGREED AT MAY 28 SPC MEETING. MENZIES (CANADA) WONDERED WHETHER IT MIGHT BE UNFAIR TO RECOGNIZE PARLIAMENTARIANS AND TO EXCLUDE OTHER GROUPS SUCH AS THE ATLANTIC

ASSOCIATIONS, BUT HE RECEIVED NO SUPPORT AND ULTIMILY AGREED TO THE PARAGRAPH.

-- PARAGRAPH FOURTEEN

DISCUSSION OF PARAGRAPH 14 FEATURED TURKISH SUGGESTION THAT "IN PARTICULAR THEIR YOUTH" BE ADDED BETWEEN "PEOPLES" AND "ARE COMMENSURATE" IN SENTENCE TWO. TURKISH IDEA WAS REJECTED BY NORWEGIANS WHO THOUGHT PARAGRAPH 14 ALREADY SOUNDED A BIT TOO TRIUMPHANT AND MIGHT HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT ON YOUTH THAN THE ONE INTENDED. MEETING CLOSE WITH QUERY FROM NETHERLANDS PERMREPS WHO REPEATED THE HAGUE'S CONCERNS ABOUT TIMING IF IT IS THE ALLIANCE'S INTENTION TO PROMULGATE THE DECLARATION AT OTTAWA. HE SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE DUTCH CABINET TO REVIEW A FINAL TEXT THE FRIDAY BEFORE THE MINISTERIAL. THIS WOULD REQUIRE ITS BEING COMPLETED BEFORE JUNE 10. DE STAERCKE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT ALREADY THOUGHT THE TEXT WOULD BE READY FOR OTTAWA. IT WOULD BE ISSUED AS A DECLARATION REPEAT DECLARATION ATTACHED TO THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH WOULD ALSO MAKE A REFERENCE TO IT. MENZIES SUGGESTED THAT IS LEGAL EXPERTS MIGHT

SECRET

PAGE 05 NATO 02984 02 OF 02 300312Z

COMPARE THE CURRENT DECLARATION WITH PREVIOUS ONES TO COMPARE POSSIBLE LEGAL CHARACTERISTICS.

RUMSFELD

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